

## THE EVIDENCE

Source 1 from Fisher Ames, Works of Fisher Ames (Boston: T. B. Wait and Co., 1809), pp. 115-133.

### 1. Fisher Ames's Eulogy for George Washington, Boston, February 8, 1800

Rome did not owe more to Fabius,<sup>21</sup> than America to Washington. Our nation shares with him the singular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildness, and a revolution with order.

The event of that war seemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its chief. Until that contest, a great part of the civilized world had been surprisingly ignorant of the force and character, and almost of the existence, of the British colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curiosity to know the state of thirteen wretched settlements, which vast woods enclosed, and still vaster woods divided from each other. They did not view the colonists so much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and solitude, and intermixture with the savages, had made barbarians.

At this time, while Great Britain wielded a force truly formidable to the most powerful states, suddenly, astonished Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, stand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was so unequal, all expected it would be short. Our final success exalted their admiration to its highest point: they allowed to Washington all that is due to transcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They considered us a race of Washingtons, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. . . .

Washington retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He left his countrymen to their simplicity and their passions, and their glory soon departed. . . .

*[Ames then describes the United States's troubles during the period immediately following the War for Independence: economic instability, excessively democratic state governments, the lack of moral discipline or restraint, a weak central government, and the rise of factions. To conservatives such as Ames, it seemed as if the new nation simply would fall apart.]*

At this awful crisis, which all the wise so much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retrospect, so much more dreadful than their fears; some man was wanting who possessed a commanding power over the popular passions, but over whom those passions had no power. That man was Washington.

21. Fabius Maximus, hero of the Second Punic War, who adopted the military strategy whereby Rome was able to retain control of Italy in spite of the major successes of Hannibal.

His name, at the head of such a list of worthies as would reflect honour on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almost all the well disposed among the less informed citizens, and blessed be God! the constitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honour of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in spite of the obstacles, which, in any other country, and, perhaps, in any other age of *this*, would have been insurmountable; in spite of the doubts and fears, which well-meaning prejudice creates for itself, and which party so artfully inflames into stubbornness; in spite of the vice, which it has subjected to restraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in spite of the oligarchies in some of the states, from whom it snatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happiness: invaluable!

No sooner did the new government begin its auspicious course, than order seemed to arise out of confusion. Commerce and industry awoke, and were cheerful at their labours; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of prosperity; and the only fear was, that its progress was too rapid to consist with the purity and simplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labours of the president were incessant: his exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the publick service: able officers were selected, only for their merits; and some of them remarkably distinguished themselves by their successful management of the publick business. Government was administered with such integrity, without mystery, and in so prosperous a course, that it seemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence. Though it has made many thousand malcontents, it has never, by its rigour or injustice, made one man wretched.

Such was the state of publick affairs: and did it not seem perfectly to ensure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens? Did they not, in respect to their government and its administration, possess their whole heart's desire? They had seen and suffered long the want of an efficient constitution; they had freely ratified it; they saw Washington, their tired friend, the father of his country, invested with its powers: they knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Consider, for a moment, what a reputation it was: such as no man ever before possessed by so clear a title, and in so high a degree. His fame seemed in its purity to exceed even its brightness: office took honour from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition stood awed and darkened by his shadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man so vain as to dispute precedence with him; or what were the honours that could make the possessor Washington's superior? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the gross could discern in his life the infinite superiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness: the splendor of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that Washington could augment his fame; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

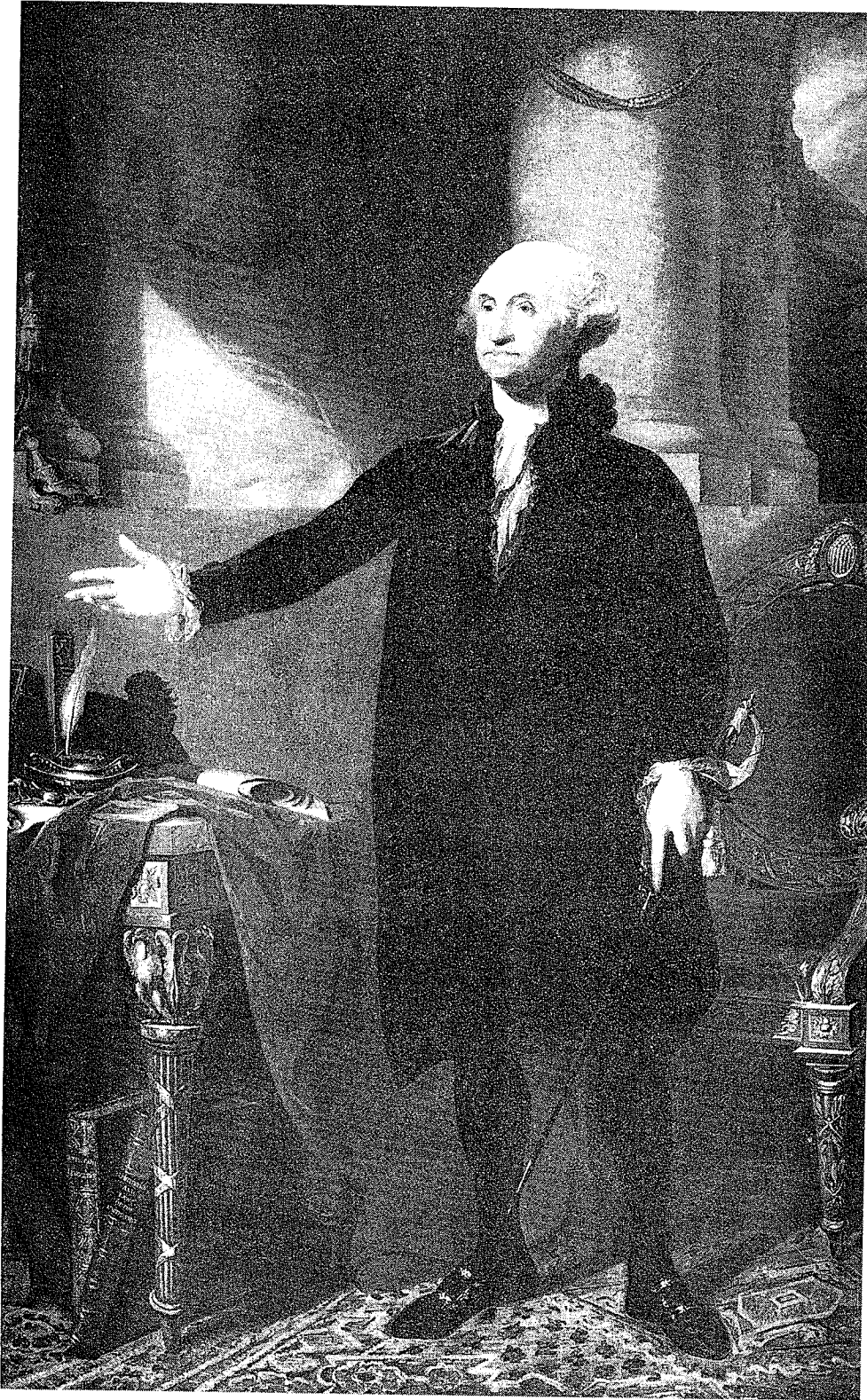
While the president was thus administering the government in so wise and just a manner, as to engage the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its support, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progress, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. . . .

Who then, on careful reflection, will be surprised, that the French and their partisans instantly conceived the desire, and made the most powerful attempts, to revolutionize the American government? . . . Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the dispersion of our people on farms, and on the almost equal diffusion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whose authority reigns in the heart; and on the influence all these produce on public opinion, before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is restraint; *there* it is violence: *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning sun of our summer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the sun, when his rays dart pestilence on the sands of Africa. American liberty calms and restrains the licentious passions, like an angel that says to the winds and troubled seas, be still. . . .

It is not impossible, that some will affect to consider the honours paid to this great patriot by the nation, as excessive, idolatrous, and degrading to freemen, who are all equal. I answer, that refusing to virtue its legitimate honours would not prevent their being lavished, in future, on any worthless and ambitious favourite. If this day's example should have its natural effect, it will be salutary. Let such honours be so conferred only when, in future, they shall be so merited: then the public sentiment will not be misled, nor the principles of a just equality corrupted. . . .

But such a chief magistrate as Washington appears like the pole star in a clear sky, to direct the skilful statesman. His presidency will form an epoch, and be distinguished as the age of Washington. Already it assumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemisphere. The latest generations of men will survey, through the telescope of history, the space where so many virtues blend their rays, and delight to separate them into groups and distinct virtues. As the best illustration of them, the living monument, to which the first of patriots would have chosen to consign his fame, it is my earnest prayer to heaven, that our country may subsist, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happiness, and mingle its mild glory with Washington's.

2. Gilbert Stuart, *George Washington (The Lansdowne Portrait)*,<sup>22</sup> 1797



22. Stuart painted this work for wealthy Philadelphia merchant William Bingham, who then gave it to the Marquis of Lansdowne, an Englishman who favored the American cause. Stuart also painted four copies of this full-length study, one of which Dolley Madison saved from fire in 1814 when the British invaded Washington, D.C., and burned the executive mansion.

Source 3 from J. Mavidal and E. Laurent, eds., *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860. Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises, 1st series, volume 73* (Paris: Librairie administrative Paul Dupont, 1908), pp. 302-305. Translated by Julius R. Ruff.

### 3. F. E. Guiraut, Funeral Oration for Marat, Paris, July 1793

People! It is true that you have lost your friend.<sup>23</sup> A monster vomitted up by tyranny has come to pierce his breast. You have seen his mortal wounds with your own eyes;<sup>24</sup> his body was cold and bloodied, sad remains which for you are the last witnesses of his fidelity.

His funeral, it is true, was one filled with our gratitude! You have carefully placed him in a tomb, you have covered him with garlands and flowers; and you have done more: you bathed him in your tears. Oh Marat, how glorious it is to die in the middle of your brothers! . . .

[Here Guiraut gives a brief biographical sketch of Marat, emphasizing his education, his hatred of injustice, and his medical degree.]

Citizens! Follow Marat! Born for liberty, he early experienced acts of despotism caused by ignorance. He could not stand ignorance and, having identified it, would have abolished it in the twinkling of an eye if he could have. . . .

. . . For Marat governments were a monstrosity, nothing but a mixture of extortions, crimes, and impudence. He knew governments' politics and he tried to overthrow their monstrous abuses. . . .

Then in 1789 the earthshaking reveille of liberty sounded. The people rose up, stamped its foot on the ground and the throne started to shake. Marat saw it already toppled. "Be watchful," he wrote to his fellow citizens, "the laurels are for you." Intrepid, courageous, he took responsibility for assuring the victory of the Revolution. He advised the people's representatives meeting at Versailles; in Paris he kept the people stirred up, and he was everywhere in the streets and roads fearing that liberty would escape his grasp. Marat was indignant at the deceptive scheme for double representation,<sup>25</sup> and he planned a constitution.

23. Note Guiraut's play on words here.

24. Marat's body was on view in the Church of the Cordeliers on July 16, along with the bathtub in which he was murdered and his bloody shirt.

25. **double representation:** In late 1788 Louis XVI conceded a doubling of the number of Third Estate representatives in the Estates General to be elected in February-April 1789. This would have given the commoners a number of representatives roughly equal to those of the clergy and the nobility. What was not conceded was vote by head in place of vote by house. Because the Estates General was, in essence, a three-house legislature that required positive votes by all three estates or houses (the First Estate representing the clergy, the Second Estate the nobility, and the Third Estate the commoners), the maintenance of vote by house meant that the privileged groups could block reform legislation proposed by the commoners of the Third Estate.

He observed events. The people, he concluded, had been deceived, betrayed by its representatives, and he mounted a war to the death against the traitors.

Ignoring all other sentiments than the wish to see his homeland happy, Marat saw all the perils. He feared nothing. He resolved to fight all vices with a daily newspaper whose austere language would remind legislators of their principles, unmask scoundrels and corrupt officials, reveal their plots and sound the alarm bell in moments of danger.

Scarcely had he cast his glance on the Constituent Assembly, than innumerable plots were directed against him. He spoke the truth, his enemies wished to buy his silence. Necker<sup>26</sup> offered him a million in gold, but he refused it. They seized his presses, ordered his arrest, put a price on his head in vain efforts to silence him. His courage sustained him, his paper continued, his energy grew.

Lafayette besieged his home with 12,000 men but Marat escaped, though his home was pillaged and he was reduced to misery.

In this dreadful situation, he was without domicile and soon without friends. Wandering from one neighborhood on the outskirts of Paris to another, pursued relentlessly, heaped with venom and pain, he was only the more formidable. Everywhere spied on, everywhere he escaped the fury of his enemies' knives. They could not silence him. . . .

When the constitution was proclaimed, Marat sensed that the new order of things could not last a long time. His eye discovered secret plots, and he told the people that the plotters wished to subjugate them and to restore Louis XVI to his former authority. He pursued the deputies of the Legislative Assembly, denouncing their treachery and venality, and found himself charged with a crime and the crowd at his heels. Passion dictated his actions. Didn't he write that "The defense of the people's rights is my supreme law"? Stronger than all the plotters together he defied them, scorned them, revealed conspiracies, and showed the need to exclude priests, nobles, financiers, creatures of the court, and tricksters from all public office. . . .

[Marat was branded as an enemy of the state and was forced into hiding.]

On August 10<sup>27</sup> the voice of the people made itself heard and toppled not enormous stones wet with the tears of the oppressed<sup>28</sup> but crowns, *fleurs de lis*<sup>29</sup> and gilded corridors. . . .

Marat was a lone mountain<sup>30</sup> and it was necessary to destroy him at any price. . . .

26. Jacques Necker was a Swiss banker who was made director of finances by Louis XVI in 1777, but who was dismissed when he attempted to reform France's tax structure. During the revolution he played a major role in trying to restructure the nation's finances.

27. On August 10, 1792, Parisian crowds stormed the Tuileries Palace and effectively ended the monarchy founded by the Constitution of 1791.

28. Guiraut refers here to the crowd's capture of the Bastille prison in Paris on July 14, 1789.

29. *fleur de lis*: A three-leaf lily that symbolized the Old Regime monarchy.

30. A clever reference to Marat's political faction, the Montagnard (mountain).

Respond, assassins of Marat! You who thrust the knife into his chest, have you, like him, any virtues to offer? Did you ever know this extraordinary mortal? He spent all his life in seclusion and thought but was persecuted by the envious and jealous, pursued by the forces of despotism, abandoned by the timid and weak, hated by those who are evil and corrupt, feared by the ambitious and conspirators, esteemed by the people, and slain by agents of fanaticism. Answer, assassins! Did you know him? . . .

Listen to the last words of this philosopher, citizens:

People! I was your representative. I defended your rights. I lived in misery, and I died in misery. People! Your confidence was too great and was always your misfortune. Cease to acclaim false idols. Your welfare depends on you. Know your dignity and your strength. Calculate your needs coldly. Faithful observer, no longer allow yourself to be enslaved. Crush intrigue, suppress ambition, scorn evil, esteem talent, honor virtue. . . .

People, do not let yourselves be led astray. Be on guard against those who would deceive you. Never again become the instrument of passion. Do not arm yourselves against your brothers but employ toward them all those means of reconciliation worthy of you. Everywhere arrest the most culpable enemies; they alone deserve to be punished.

People, cherish your liberty! All the social virtues should reign with it. Among you it is in an embryonic state. Be happy and enjoy the charms of philanthropy. Think sometimes of your friend; I make you the trustee of my heart.

Oh Marat, the ever watchful and vigilant sentinel before our gate, we will never again hear: "Here is Marat, the friend of the people!"

Always present in our thought, we will never forget what you have done for us. . . .



Source 5 from Toussaint L'Ouverture: Biography and Autobiography (Boston: James Redpath, 1863), pp. 331-336.

### 5. Henri Christophe, Manifesto, 1814

At the time when, reduced to our own private resources, cut off from all communication with France, we resisted every allurements; when, inflexible to menaces, deaf to proposals, inaccessible to artifice, we braved misery, famine, and privation of every kind, and finally triumphed over our enemies both within and without.

We were then far from perceiving that twelve years after, as the price of so much perseverance, sacrifice, and blood, France would deprive us in a most barbarous manner of the most precious of our possessions,—liberty.

Under the administration of Governor-General Toussaint L'Ouverture, Hayti arose from her ruins, and everything seemed to promise a happy future. The arrival of General Hédouville<sup>31</sup> completely changed the aspect of affairs, and struck a deadly blow to public tranquillity. We will not enter into the detail of his intrigues with the Haytian General, Rigaud,<sup>32</sup> whom he persuaded to revolt against the legitimate chief. We will only say, that before leaving the island, Hédouville had put everything into confusion, by casting among us the firebrands of discord, and lighting the torch of civil war.

Ever zealous for the reestablishment of order and of peace, Toussaint L'Ouverture, by a paternal government, restored their original energy to law, morality, religion, education, and industry. Agriculture and commerce were flourishing; he was favorable to white colonists, especially to those who occupied new possessions; and the care and partiality which he felt for them went so far that he was severely censured as being more attached to them than to people of his own color. This negro wail was not without reason; for some months previous to the arrival of the French, he put to death his own nephew, General Moïse, for having disregarded his orders relative to the protection of the colonists. This act of the Governor, and the great confidence which he had in the French Government, were the chief causes of the weak resistance which the French met with in Hayti. In reality, his confidence in that Government was so great, that the General had disbanded the greater part of the regular troops, and employed them in the cultivation of the ground.

31. Hédouville was the commander of the French forces that Toussaint ultimately defeated in 1797-1798, forcing the French to abandon Haiti until the French invasion of 1802.

32. Rigaud had been second in command to Toussaint but broke with him and led the mulattos in a civil war against Toussaint in 1799-1800. Rigaud's revolt was brutally repressed and approximately 2,000 people were put to death.



Such was the state of affairs whilst the peace of Amiens<sup>33</sup> was being negotiated; it was scarcely concluded, when a powerful armament landed on our coasts a large army, which, attacking us by surprise, when we thought ourselves perfectly secure, plunged us suddenly into an abyss of evils.<sup>34</sup>

Posterity will find a difficulty in believing that, in so enlightened and philosophic an age, such an abominable enterprise could possibly have been conceived. In the midst of a civilized people, a horde of barbarians suddenly set out with the design of exterminating an innocent and peaceable nation, or at least of loading them anew with the chains of national slavery.

It was not enough that they employed violence; they also thought it necessary to use perfidy and villainy,—they were compelled to sow dissension among us. Every means was put in requisition to carry out this abominable scheme. The leaders of all political parties in France, even the sons of the Governor Toussaint, were invited to take part in the expedition. They, as well as ourselves, were deceived by that *chef-d'oeuvre*<sup>35</sup> of perfidy, the proclamation of the First Consul,<sup>36</sup> in which he said to us, 'You are all equal and free before God and the Republic;' such was his declaration, at the same time that his private instructions to General Leclerc<sup>37</sup> were to reëstablish slavery.

The greater part of the population, deceived by these fallacious promises, and for a long time accustomed to consider itself as French, submitted without resistance. The Governor so little expected the appearance of an enemy that he had not even ordered his generals to resist in case of an attack being made; and, when the armament arrived, he himself was on a journey toward the eastern coast. If some few generals did resist, it was owing only to the hostile and menacing manner in which they were summoned to surrender, which compelled them to respect their duty, their honor, and the present circumstances.

After a resistance of some months, the Governor-General yielded to the pressing entreaties and the solemn protestations of Leclerc, 'that he intended to protect the liberties of every one, and that France would never destroy so noble a work.' On this footing, peace was negotiated with France; and the Governor Toussaint, laying aside his power, peaceably retired to the retreat he had prepared for himself.

Scarcely had the French extended their dominion over the whole island and that more by roguery and deceit than by force of arms, than they began to put in execution their horrible system of slavery and destruction.

33. The Peace of Amiens (1802) brought a temporary end to the war between France and Great Britain, thus allowing Napoleon to plan an invasion of Haiti.

34. The French invasion of 1802.

35. *chef-d'oeuvre*: masterpiece.

36. Napoleon Bonaparte.

37. Leclerc was the commander of the 1802 French invasion force.

To hasten the accomplishment of their projects, mercenary and Machiavellian writers fabricated fictitious narratives, and attributed to Toussaint designs that he had never entertained. While he was remaining peaceably at home, on the faith of solemn treaties, he was seized, loaded with irons, dragged away with the whole of his family, and transported to France. The whole of Europe knows how he ended his unfortunate career in torture and in prayer, in the dungeon of the Château de Joux.

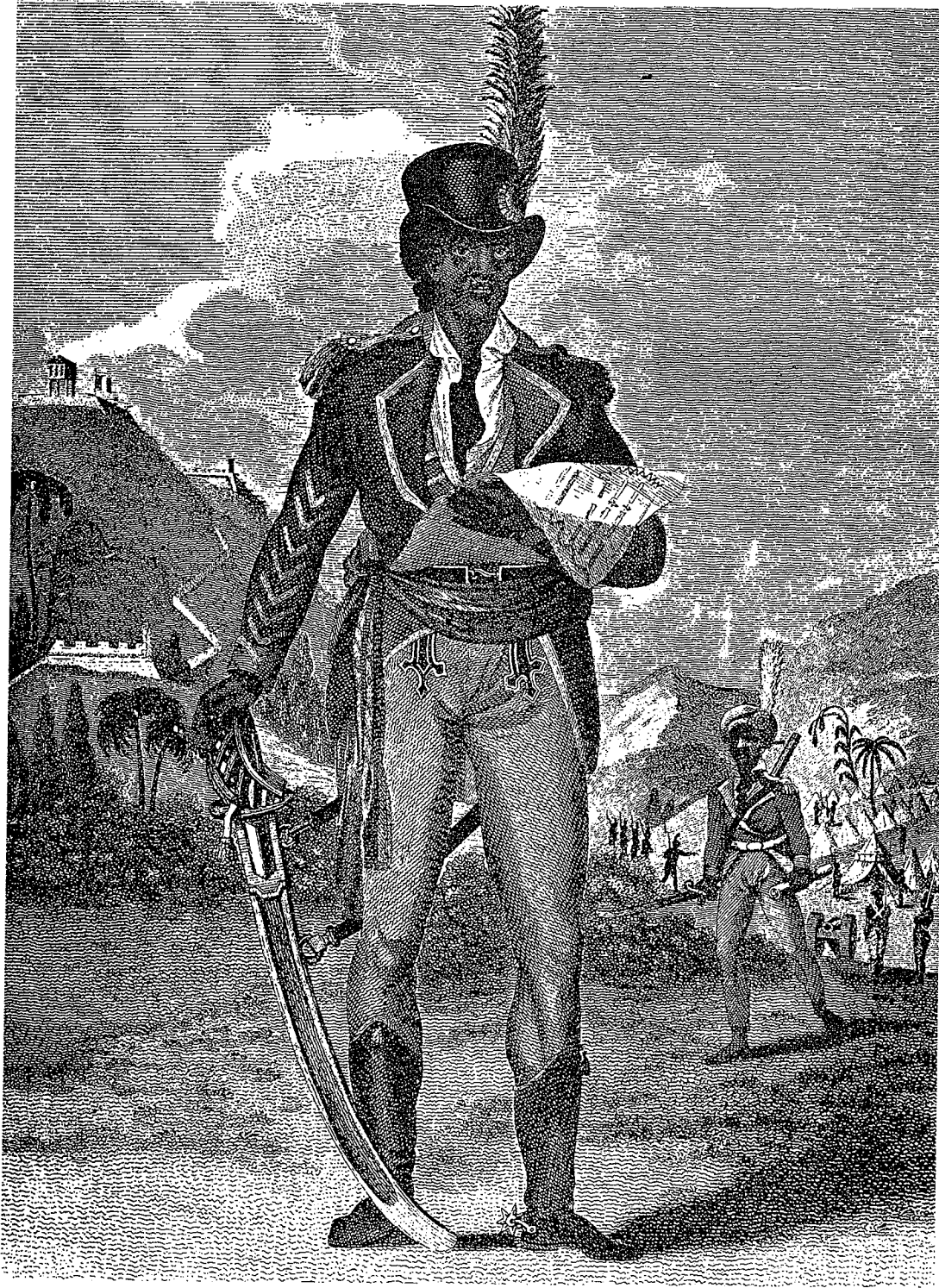
Such was the recompense reserved for his attachment to France, and for the eminent services he had rendered to the colony.

At the same time, notice was given to arrest all suspected persons throughout the island. All those who had shown brave and enlightened souls, when we claimed for ourselves the rights of men, were the first to be seized. Even the traitors who had most contributed to the success of the French army, by serving as guides to their advanced guard, and by exciting their compatriots to take vengeance, were not spared. At first they desired to sell them into strange colonies; but, as this plan did not succeed, they resolved to transport them to France, where overpowering labor, the galleys, chains, and prisons, were awaiting them.

Then the white colonists, whose numbers have continually increased, seeing their power sufficiently established, discarded the mask of dissimulation, openly declared the reestablishment of slavery, and acted in accordance with their declaration. They had the impudence to claim as their slaves men who had made themselves eminent by the most brilliant services to their country, in both the civil and military departments. Virtuous and honorable magistrates, warriors covered with wounds, whose blood had been poured out for France and for liberty, were compelled to fall back into the bonds of slavery. . . .

Source 6 from Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London: James Cundee, 1805), facing p. 241. Photo: Stock Montage, Inc.

6. J. Barlow, *Portrait of Toussaint Louverture*, ca. 1805



Source 7 from Richard W. Slatta and Jane Lucas DeGrummond, *Simón Bolívar's Quest for Glory* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2003), pp. 301-302.

## 7. Dr. Eduardo Calcano, Oration at the Reinterment of Bolívar, October 28, 1876

Señores:

Like a trembling skiff on the immensity of the ocean, like a migrating bird face to face with the profundities of infinite space that he is forced to traverse, so is the orator of today before the solemn majesty of this most high occasion, with the undecidable assignment of ascending to inaccessible summits, to Olympic heights that dominate the world, and with my voice broadcast to all people and all generations the colossal glory which is the patrimony of humanity. . . .

Titan<sup>38</sup> [Bolívar] leveled the Andes beneath his stride, and made a seat of Chimborazo<sup>39</sup> on which he conversed with Time and Destiny.

Others dissolved parliaments; he convoked congresses. Others throttled the Republic; he founded republics and gave them as surety his prestige and power. Others beheaded the people; he educated them for liberty. Others divided territories in order to tyrannize and exploit them; he held them together in the powerful unity of democracy and consecrated them, with the kiss of his genius, to be the custodians of civilization with the cult of human rights, the philosophy of justice, the permanent law of progress, the sovereignty of the people, and the ennoblement of man on the throne of personal dignity.

This is the great continental work of Bolívar, that which has elevated his stature to the heavens and transformed him into an object of stupendous admiration for the Ages.

In order to make myself in some degree worthy of the prestigious solemnity that overwhelmed by smallness with its grandeur, I placed myself between two great orators in order that their light might shine on my countenance, and their eloquence lend its vibration to my words.

Thus, after having before my eyes the prophecy of Zea, the great orator of times past, and the virile accent of Guzmán Blanco,<sup>40</sup> the best orator of our times, I pronounce the new apocalypse of Bolívar's future glory.

All that we here witness is not yet the apotheosis<sup>41</sup> of Bolívar. His apotheosis will have effect when more lustroms<sup>42</sup> have passed and the great destinies

38. **Titan:** in Greek mythology, a primordial god known for his size and strength.

39. **Chimborazo:** the highest mountain in Ecuador, 20,561 feet.

40. **Guzmán Blanco:** Blanco (1829-1899) was president of Venezuela. He ordered Bolívar's remains to be moved to the Church of the Santísima Trinidad, renamed the National Pantheon.

41. **apotheosis:** an exalted or glorified ideal.

42. **lustrom (lustrum):** a period of five years.

of America have been realized. When ten or more powerful and happy nations seated on the skirt of the Andes from ports of a peaceful Ocean the products needed for the existence of the Old World in exchange for what the Old World has discovered and improved in industry and the arts, for progress and civilization.

When thousands of steamboats plough the immense net of rich rivers from the Orinoco to the Straits of Magellan, and when locomotives cross the vast territory where the sound of labor and the vigor of ideas prevail—then, on top of all this grandeur will be the figure of Bolívar radiating its glory to all horizons of the earth, as the sun radiates its light over the universe.

Source 8 from Elizabeth P. Benson, et. al., *Retratos: 2,000 Years of Latin American Portraits* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 000.

8. Jose Gil de Castro's Painting of Simón Bolívar, Lima, 1830

